1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war.

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement.

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodities of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

438 camel transport, the camels feeding on desert pasture as they go.

Grain, cloth, and tobacco are the staples for sale from the oases to nomads. The return trade consists of sheep, goats, and cattle for slaughtering, cattle and horses as work animals, better quality horses for riding, and wool and hides as raw materials for artisan handicrafts.

One of the striking characteristics of the external trade of Sinkiang is that trade with China is essentially, in both its economic and its political aspects, trade with a foreign country. In spite of Chinese sovereignty, and the fact that Sinkiang has had a "standardized" provincial administration since 1884, the Chinese administrators of the Provincial Government have always had a strong tendency to make themselves into independent satraps. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang drew an Imperial subsidy from Peking, and this political income was more important than the turnover of trade. Since 1911, under the Republic, the province has most of the time been "on its own," and its governors have manipulated all trade, including trade with China, neither for the purpose of building up the provincial economy nor in order to create an economic nexus between Sinkiang and the rest of China, but primarily to accumulate personal wealth in negotiable forms which could be deposited in safe haven somewhere outside of Chinese territory.

439 Geography also hampers trade between Sinkiang and the rest
489 of China. The greatest expanses of desert in and adjacent to Sin-
133 kiang lie on the side toward China. The distance by camel caravan from Kuchengtze through Inner Mongolia to railhead in Suiyuan Province is at least 1200 miles. The distance is even greater by cart or caravan from Komul across the desert to the Kansu Corridor, then by cart through Kansu to railhead in Shensi Province; and cart transport is more expensive than camel transport. It is not surprising that, even in the early 1930's before the years of wartime disruption, only 12.5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade was with China.

439 Historically, after the age of the Silk Routes and of medieval
489 trade, tea became important in trade between China and Kashgar

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

by 1750.[28] Sinkiang still imports tea from China, together with silk and the factory-made cotton goods which compete with homespun cotton, and profitable but inessential goods like porcelain, cigarettes, flashlights, and Western-style men's hats. Luxury exports to China are raisins, jade, and furs. Bulk exports are sheep's wool, camel's wool, and the intestines of sheep (for making sausage casings). The quantity exported to China is entirely dependent on the Russian market, because the much shorter distance to railhead in Soviet territory makes it impossible for China to compete when Russia is willing to buy.

Trade with the Mongolian People's Republic has always been of minor importance. Mongolia is a pastoral country, and it adjoins the pastoral regions of Sinkiang, so that all that Sinkiang can export is grain, which can be cheaply carried by camel caravan.

Trade with India, amounting in the early 1930's to 5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade, is limited by the fact that the main trade route, over the Karakoram to Leh, crosses five passes of more than 17,000 feet. The average loss in caravan animals is in the neighborhood of 40 per cent; and from Leh more passes have to be crossed on the way down to Kashmir. British policy has always encouraged trade between India and Sinkiang, but in the last fifty years the development reached has been anything but healthy. Indian merchants, settled in the southwestern oases, invest their profits partly in usury, which leads to lawsuits and ill-feeling. They also invested, until recently at least, in buying and growing *charas* or Indian hemp, a plant closely related to marijuana, which provided compact, high-value loads that could profitably be carried over the high passes to India. This trade in a dangerous narcotic, which in 1937–1938 represented 42 per cent of the total value of exports to India, was made the target of a political drive against British interests in Sinkiang during the "anti-imperialist" phase of the governorship of Sheng Shih-ts'ai in the late 1930's.

These limitations of trade in other directions make it plain why trade with Russia is the only mechanism which can pump vitality

[28] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

was in the case of Yakub Beg, the Khokandi adventurer who led a successful revolt against the Chinese in 1865 and ruled the country after the traditional manner of the Oriental despot for the next twelve years. Under his tyranny, according to Stein,[1] the population of some of the oases sank to one-half of what it had once been, and the cultivated area everywhere shrank greatly. The result was that when in 1877 the Chinese came back in force, they were welcomed with open arms by the people and the power of the self-styled "Amir" collapsed like a house of cards.

Nothing is more impressive than the persistence with which through the ages China has enforced her claim to Eastern Turkistan. Whether to safeguard the transcontinental "Silk Road," which in the palmy days of Imperial Rome carried the produce of her looms to the Atlantic shore, or whether because she must extend her effective occupation to the westernmost mountain barriers of her empire on pain of losing their protection, China has always returned to the charge, even after a thousand years. Despite the gigantic distances involved—for even now, with several hundred miles of railway to help, the journey from Peking to Kashgar takes five months—her armies have time after time pushed westward; the might of the Emperors of Cathay has leant up against the flimsy structures of one Central Asian power after another and has flattened them out as though they had never been.

Since their last re-conquest in 1877 the Chinese have governed Sinkiang, the "New Dominion," from Urumchi fifty marches north-east of Kashgar. Standing on the site of Bishbaligh, one of the chief centres of the Uigur civilization in the Middle Ages, Urumchi commands the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading from Central Asia into the heart of Inner China. Cut off from the rest of China, except for this one long trail, by the vast extent of the Mongolian Desert, where a man may travel for fifty days without meeting a single human being, the New Dominion has recked little of the civil wars which during the last twelve years have rent the mother-country from end to end. The only effect on Sinkiang of the Revolution of 1911 and the consequent weakening of the Central Government has been to permit a Governor of outstanding ability to establish himself as the virtually independent ruler of Chinese Central Asia. The result of Yang Tseng-hsin's twelve years' rule has been that the military and other

[1] "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," June, 1925, p. 498.

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489 Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
175 doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral
SN nomadism.

631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
657 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
175 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until
SN the Communists came into power.

563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
659 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

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631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were
S administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.
631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of
647 the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
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[648] safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

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*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
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668 a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
433 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
327 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
328 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
382 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
39 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

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*668 Communist China may very well focus its principal attention on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a major role in the economic relations between China and Russia,
[648] and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"